1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[12]

[12] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by stripe of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [824] 283 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *upocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ¼ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued. 224

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others. [136] [223]

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Coña describes a multiple immobile or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area. 231

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kiltho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chilihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its [236 492]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepúe area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *b*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [460] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (fiimkun) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pishoi) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepúe woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ¼ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals